593 white one just as she does when she is menstruating. Neither
846 parent, however, is supposed to have sexual intercourse
834 (again, in practice, the woman's lovers do not conform to
[854] this precept) until the child, if it is a male, starts to
[856] speak and play with bow and arrows, or with dolls and small baskets if female. Otherwise the child will get weaker and weaker and eventually die. Only when this period of continence is over is the time of birth officially ended. The husband will celebrate this occasion by painting and adorning his wife and child.

842 Many of the ideas and customs described above attest to the native theory of procreation. Though the Bororo are a matrilineal people they posit the necessity of a genitor for the procreation of a child. The importance ascribed to both the father's and the mother's dreams, to the couvade, and to the role of the father's female consanguineals during childbirth are all expressions of the significance that the Bororo attribute to both parents. This emphasis on bilaterality is reflected in the fact that both maternal and paternal half-siblings are linguistically recognized as full-siblings.

842 Both the Bororo idea that one can have many fathers but
593 only one mother and the obligation for a man to provide for
855 his stepchildren, while a motherless child is taken care of by his mother's sisters rather than by his stepmother, may be correlated with the step-kin rule which excludes a stepmother from the category of genealogically connected relatives. Finally, the fact that one can have only one mother

Chapter VIII

FAMILY LIFE

592 The basic economic unit consists of a woman and her husband, her daughters and their husbands, and all their unmarried children. After initiation the sons move into the men's house, but all their belongings remain in their mother's house, and their food continues to be prepared in their natal home until they marry. If they later divorce, their mothers and sisters will again care for them. When a man marries he moves into his wife's house on the other side of the village, but his most precious ornaments remain behind, in care of his sisters' husbands. A house may be occupied by several extended families, each family having its own fireplace. If the families are small, the sisters decide whether they will cook together or separately. When they cook together they use the same fireplace, but each woman cooks in her own pots and provides her own firewood. The families living in one house do not eat together, but the women always exchange some of the food they have prepared. They also help each other care for the children. If a woman is busy making fire or cooking, one of her sisters will take the baby for her; and when a woman goes into the woods to collect firewood, her mother or sister will take care of the

596 855 children left at home. She will bathe them, feed them, and even nurse them.

591 If a man does not get along well with his wife's family, he can move his family to another village. This movement of the nuclear family allows a man to interact with new people but does not affect the structure of the new group, which will be very much like the one left behind. The man will live again in his "wife's sister's" house, and he will depend again on his "brothers" in quarrels. If the wife's mother is still alive, a change of village will seldom occur. Apart from the affective ties between the two women, the mother likes the couple to live with her because of the help her daughter gives her and the contribution that her son-in-law makes to the household by hunting and fishing. The daughter, on the other hand, can feel quite sure that her children will be looked after when she goes into the woods to collect food or firewood. And the husband hopes that his wife will grow wiser from the good advice she received from her mother.

591 596

593 461 A young couple often goes alone to the woods or to the fields to do some work together that would be difficult for a woman to do alone: for example, cutting palm for the extraction of palm hearts, or cutting trees for the extraction of honey. Often these tasks are only an excuse for a couple's desire to be alone together. Occasionally a man, his wife, and their children will make hunting or fishing trips lasting several days. The trips may or may not be a

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855 Bororo fathers and mothers are very affectionate and
868 patient with their children. Both parents teach the child how to talk, and when the child grows up and starts asking questions, they try to explain everything they are asked.
603 The method of education is by advice and persuasion. In
868 the village where I worked, a three-year-old girl once was crying and screaming loudly at her grandmother. The woman seemed not to pay too much attention to her behavior and kept talking gently to her, saying that she should not be angry with her grandparents because they were not maltreating her; they were teaching her so she would know how to do things and would behave correctly; that when she grew up she would go to collect ako (one kind of nut) and pick ari, boko, and jatugo (fruits of the forest); that for these
855 reasons they were talking to her. Sometimes, however, the
861 Bororo make the children obey by threatening that some animals, owls or wolves, will come and eat their sexual organs. Very seldom is a child beaten; when it happens, it is only for special transgressions. Only once did I see a mother strike her daughter with a stick. She had found the child eating clay, and the child had been previously warned several times not to do it. The children are never forced to do something they do not want to do. A mother can ask her young daughter to go to the spring to get some water, but if the girl says itaidu kare—"I do not want to do it"—the mother will take the container and go to the spring herself.
868 At three or four years of age a girl will start to play
562 with small baskets, straw trays, and fans that her mother

/128 cont./

614 For example: the group of the Apiborege of the caste of the
551 Tugarege uses these names Trua cereu, Adugo meri, Iparegiri, and others; the Paiwe of the same caste use, among many others, these: Meriri Prado, Cerae Togiú, Meriri cooáa. Never, however, will there be promiscuousness between the names of the two groups; never will the Apiborege use the names of the Paiwe, and vice versa, even though they belong to the same dynasty of the Tugarege. The same custom governs the Cerae, who will never use the proper names of the Tugarege, nor of the groups of them. For example: the Bocodori cerae, the Coge cibae cerae, the Aorori take the following proper names for members of their families: Wororeu, Coge kigadurêu, Woro mugureu; the Kié have for their own use the following: Toro Pradu, Ukeparabara, Aurajokívo. There will never be a case of a family of the Bocodori giving its members names used by the the Kié. --

551 To the animal or vegetable being whose name they use,
824 they do not attribute any cult or worship, /129/ or any
825 consideration. For example: an individual to whom the name of Piodudo (hummingbird or colibri) was given will not for this reason profess any special respect for this bird, nor will the hummingbirds for this reason have any immunity. The same happens in relation to other animals or plants."

854 In general, the child, in its first years, is taken care of by
855 the mother.

060 Vaerting (o.c., pp. 6-9) designated as a result of female predominance the custom known from some regions of ancient Europe, Africa, and Asia, according to which the woman
[171] takes the initiative in love and in marriage. Similar behavior was observed among some South American tribes; let there be mentioned, for example, the Choroti in the Chaco (Erland Nordenskiöld: Indianerleben /Indian Life/, Leipzig, 1912, pp. 86-90).

/135 cont./

added room, and the woman, and thus the maternal family, remains the owner of this contiguous part of the building.

Karl von den Steinen observes in this respect (o.c., p. 501): "The young wife remains with the children in the parents' house. The young husband only spends the night in this house and during the day lives in the men's house, if he is not hunting. The young couple has a fire for themselves, the grandmother sits a little apart with the grandchildren. It continues thus until the grandparents' death. The grandmother nurses, when the young wife goes hunting with the husband or when she is looking for palm nuts in the forest; 'they always still have milk, when the daughters marry.'"

Other characteristics of the so-called maternal family are evident from the following indications of the same explorer /136/ (o.c., p. 502): "The women of the quarters (the girls in the men's house) received from their lovers arrows with long bamboo points. Each one handed over two, and the young woman took them, having squatted, with an indifferent expression. When I was present once, I counted 18 such love arrows for one girl. They are handed to the brother or to the mother's brother." The destiny of these arrows gives, then, an idea of the property relationships within the maternal family.

Also interesting in this respect is the custom according to which, an ounce having been killed, the skin is handed over "to the brother of the woman recently passed away or to the uncle of the man recently passed away" (von den Steinen, ibidem). It is supposed that this uncle is a brother of the mother.

Finally, one of the most important signs of the maternal family: "It was always as a natural protector of the woman that her brother presented himself to us" (von den Steinen, ibidem).

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

their tribe, and always responding *pardukuí*—I do not know, who does?—when asked their names. This *baptismal* ceremony is not performed for a female child.

They love their children, whether boys or girls, and are kind to them. Very little parental restraint seems to be exercised over them; and they are allowed to roam about and occupy themselves entirely as their own wills may suggest. Parents seldom or never whip their children. But if a father should whip his child, it is regarded as abandoned thereafter, and is adopted by relatives.

The Bororó are remarkable whistlers, and seem able by this means to communicate with one another at a distance with surprising fullness and clearness. Observing them, I noticed, moreover, that when one of them wished to take anything from the ground, he did not stoop and grasp it with the hand, but instead, took it up with the toes, passing it from the foot to the hand.

They have no words for higher numbers than three or four; therefore, to indicate five, they raise one hand and display the fingers and thumb; for ten, they elevate both hands, displaying all the fingers and thumbs; and for twenty, they elevate both hands, droop them for an instant toward the toes, then again raise them, saying by this act, twenty. To convey the idea of a large number, the hand is given a horizontal swing, pointing to the trees of the surrounding forest, which act means to say, "as numerous as the trees of the forest." Or, if the primitive man should be standing on the sand banks by the river, he will take up a handful of sand, and, with a sweep of the hand, scatter it to the wind, saying by this act, "as numberless as the sands."

One day, I saw a loaf of palm-nut bread delivered to a *mêdo* at the entrance to the great hut, which he was to divide among several of his fellows. I was curious to observe how he would divide it, in view of the fact that he could not count. First, he cut in into halves, then looked thoughtfully at his companions as if calculating how to get an equal portion for each one. Then he quartered it and again looked deliberately around.

/503 cont./

•855 Waehneldt emphasizes the great love of the parents for their children. "They guard them" he continues, "carefully from kidnappers; as soon as I came among them, they hid them all, and they all reappeared only after they were convinced that there was nothing to fear. One Indian asked me for a remedy for his sick son and said that if the latter should die he would eat so much earth that he would be buried with him." The fact that [304] the lower lip is pierced in order to give children a distinguishing mark thus has a definite reason among the Bororó on the Jaurú 854 also. We can only express ourselves in a similar manner about their love for their children; in spite of the heavy load, the baby was usually taken along into the forest, and on the homeward journey it was enthroned on the shoulders of the mother, her head 593 between its legs. On the other hand, respect for the parents was less clearly expressed; they /504/ were intelligent but impudent scamps who were more stubborn than obedient.

852 Equipping the boys with cuffs is celebrated ceremoniously. They must spend the preceding day in the forest and get nothing to eat. The young warriors are blackened with soot and must endure all kinds of practical jokes; the chief sport is for two parties to station themselves on either side of the fire and toss the boys to each other.

764 Death rites. Let us first learn about the Bororó on the Jaurú [114] from Waehneldt.

"Their mourning- and burial-ceremonies take place in the middle of their villages, in the sanctuary itself (the enclosure 765 mentioned on page 627). We were shown the clean bones of the oldest Indian, deceased a few months previously, who, after he had been buried for six months, was dug up again; the bones were clean and complete in number.

"Each evening at this place they sang mourning songs and danced, while they covered each bone with colorful feathers and richly decorated the skull with arara and other feathers.

"These ceremonies lasted several weeks, whereupon the bones deposited in an urn are buried anew. Not all the dead, however, are honored to the same extent.

787 The Umotina do not appear to have shamans.
756 Every man is believed able to call up any friendly
[534] ghost. He blows on an armadillo-shell horn and offers the ghost chicha. That night the man will meet the ghost in his dreams, who will then tell him what to do in order to cure himself or a sick relative.

LIFE CYCLE

843 A month or two before expecting a child a
846 woman eats only manioc products, maize, and honey; meat and fish being strictly avoided. These dietary restrictions continue for some months after the birth of the child. The husband, however, is free to eat what he wishes.

844 When a woman feels birth pains she goes into the woods accompanied by her mother or mother-in-law. Delivery is made in a kneeling position. The umbilical cord is tied with tucum twine and cut with a bamboo sliver, the placenta being buried. The midwife then carries the child and assists the mother back to the village. The child is taken near a fire, washed, and its arms and
[845] legs are "pressed into human shape." Twins are accepted. When the child is a day or two old,
[304] tucum nut washers are put on its ear lobes to pierce them. These thin perforated disks are the same in appearance as those used by the Nambicuara. The grandparents then give the child a
[553] name. The child is carried on its mother's hip
854 and is nursed for 2 or 3 years or until another
[847] child is born. The Umotina gave no information about using herbal medicines to induce abortion, nor did they mention anything about infanticide.
[862] The first foods a child eats consist of baked sweet-potatoes, broiled fish, and occasionally meat.
[855] Children sleep with their mothers until about 5 or 6 years of age.

881 When a girl reaches the age of puberty she paints herself with urucú and puts on a pair of feather
[301 ear pendants to let the young men know that she
302] has come of age. She is not secluded by her parents nor is a public ceremony held. When
[304] a boy reaches the age of 15 or 16, an old male relative pierces his lower lip with a bone awl.
[431] The family then invites the villagers to a feast. The visitors must bring arrows, which they present to the young man.